1: Opler

NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

302

/For generalized information on the application of body paint to the masked dancers, see category 535./

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

took him in a clockwise circle four times. After four prayers, T. sang four songs. Then we sat down.

Next T., and after him all the others, marked that little boy just as the girl is marked in the puberty rite. After that, T. prayed, took a drum, beat it four times, and started to sing. All those who knew his songs helped with the singing. Four songs were sung before he stopped. They were about Life Giver [another name for Yusn], White Painted Woman, and Child of the Water, of how the earth was made and how the fruit grew, of how Child of the Water was born and reared under the fire and how the monsters were killed.

Now prayers were said by D., and another set of songs began. The people were dancing in there, women and men, boys and girls. They danced in place. The women uttered that call of applause[6] when the names of Child of the Water and White Painted Woman were mentioned.

There were two more sets of prayers and songs. D. said the prayers. They had me sit in the center with the boy, and they all danced around us. The boy was not bashful. He danced up and down and looked around. He was only about a year and nine months old.

D. and T. said the last set of four prayers. When the people playing the hoop-and-pole game heard about this, they all came up, for they knew we had presents there to give and that the end of the ceremony was near.

D. picked up the moccasins. He put pollen on them and lifted them to the directions. He put pollen on the boy's foot and put the right moccasin on first, then the left. "Now you can run," he said. The boy put his foot right in; he was glad to do it. Everyone said, "He's just like his father."

Finally the presents were blessed. D. and T. put pollen all over the baskets of fruit and presents, and a man began passing out these things to the people. He gave some to D. and T. first. He gave them tobacco. Then sweets were passed to the children. Then other gifts were distributed. After this was over, the big meal began. They feasted that day. That night T. lifted the boy up to the moon from the four directions so that he would grow tall.

SPRING HAIR-CUTTING CEREMONY

The spring, usually the spring following the first-moccasins ceremony, "when everything is starting to grow and the grass is coming up," is chosen as the appropriate time for a brief hair-cutting rite. The child is brought to a shaman who "knows" supernatural power useful in safeguarding and training children. The man or woman selected must have thick hair. "If a man performs this ceremony and the child grows up to be a fine one, other parents come to him."

[6] A high-pitched call of the woman, signifying reverent or ceremonial applause.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

852 The minutiae of the ceremonies differ, but a composite de-
302 scription, distilled from some half-dozen separate accounts, re-
756 duces to the following elements. Pollen from cattail or from one
788 of a number of other sources is applied to the cheeks and head of the child four times and scattered clockwise to the cardinal directions. Then his hair, with the exception of one or more locks, is closely cropped. Meanwhile the shaman prays for his long life and good health. The shaman may cut off a lock of his own and mix it with the shorn hair, saying, "May this child's hair be as thick as mine." The hair is usually placed in a fruit-bearing tree with this prayer, "May many seasons come and the child live long." The pollen on the child's face is not removed but is allowed to wear away. Each boy and girl should undergo this ceremony at least once. Ideally, the rite should be repeated for four successive springs, with the same individual officiating.

862 It is about this time that weaning takes place. Gradually, as
[853] teeth appear, the child is introduced to light foods so "it will not be so hungry and demand the nipple so much." Sometimes the baby is simply forced away from the breast and given to understand that he must henceforth depend on other food. More often something sour or peppery, like chili, is put on the nipples. The child is told that the milk "is this way now" and rapidly loses interest in nursing.

SURROUNDINGS

596 The household into which the child is born is one of a cluster
621 of elementary families related through the maternal line. Near
361 an older man and woman reside their unmarried sons and daughters, their married daughters and the sons-in-law, their daughters' daughters (married and unmarried), and their daughters' unmarried sons. The number of separate dwellings varies according to the size of the group and the ages and marital status of the individuals involved. Each daughter, upon marriage, occupies a
[591] separate dwelling with her husband. Ordinarily, an unmarried son lives in his parents' household, but an adult unmarried son might have his own adjoining dwelling.

596 It is with the members of this maternal extended family that

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides*?) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls.

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

• 302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as [531] a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One in- [178] formant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments 789 of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the 855 camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their [857] hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes [515] are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 'tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the 855 hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and 751 adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 The home in which the family lives is made by the women and [462] is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and ap- [824] proximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles [412] of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the frame- [283] work, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Women school the girls in obedience "so that their husbands won't hear saucy words from them." 867

The girl's training is less formalized than that of the boy. It amounts to a greater and greater association with the duties of her mother, older sisters, and other female relatives, until she attains adult standards in the quality of work she can perform. 868

At this time, when the little girl is first learning to do women's work, her hair is done up in the style worn by young women: 868 302.

> In the old days the young woman had her hair done up. She took it in one bunch and wrapped it up in back. Then she put a hair ornament on, and it covered the knot of hair and was tied in the middle. The hair ornament was made out of buckskin or cowhide. It had to be stiff. In my day they covered the hide with cloth. The color was usually red. . . . .
>
> The hair ornament was put on as soon as the girl was ten or twelve years old. It had nothing to do with the girl's feast [puberty rite]. There was no ceremony connected with it that I know of. The mother would make it. The only thing I know about it is that they said anyone who had the hair done up that way would have very long hair, for it would grow long while it was done up that way. They told this to the little girls, and it was generally true. [301] [852]

One of the earliest tasks given the little girl is the care of still younger members of the family. She is also instructed in the use of the tumpline and is expected to help bring in wood and water. 868 857

These simple household tasks are supposed to be shared by children of both sexes, but the boy is hardly old enough to be of appreciable assistance when he senses the sexual division of labor: "After my father was gone I worked a little around the house, getting wood, carrying water, and helping my mother. I was ashamed to do that though. It was woman's work. The other boys used to pass by and see me and make fun of me." It is not long before the boy has to be released entirely from such duties to follow his companions in their training and sports. But the girl is encouraged to continue and intensify her interest in household affairs.

However, like the boy, she must train herself to be strong and vigorous. She is told to rise early, to run often, and to shun no hard work. Tales are frequently told of girls so fleet that they rival boys in races. Such swiftness and strength are necessary, for girls must be able to get quickly to safety in case of attack on the camp. 866 868 526

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

88 776 [539] White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." This may explain the control over the weather and the curative functions of the adolescent at this period.

[302] [386] [882] [789] [755]

The "little" rite.—The physiological fact of first menstruation is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and is so important that reference is made to it by a different term from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

881 574 [192]

They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

[793]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

881 793 262 788

is dressed but before she has eaten anything, the woman gives her yucca fruit with a cross of pollen on it. She first holds it to the directions, motions three times toward the girl with it, and puts it in her mouth the fourth time. This is to give her a good appetite; if she is fed with Indian fruits and piñon nuts and all the good things at this time, the girl will have a good appetite throughout life.

The attendant now advises the girl:

881 793 [211] [413]

She tells her how to drink water through the tube [of carrizo, suspended from the fringe of the dress on the right side], how to scratch herself with the stick [from a fruit- or nut-bearing tree; the scratcher hangs on the left side of the dress]. She tells the girl that she must not scratch herself with her nails, because, if she does, it will leave scars, and that she must not touch water with her lips but must use the tube for eight days or it will rain.

She tells the girl not to eat too much, because she must stay in the tepee most of the time, and she shouldn't go out in the brush much.

She tells the girl that she mustn't go around except where she is told she can go, that she should stay in the tepee most of the time for the four days of the ceremony and then for four days afterward, until she takes these clothes off.

The woman tells the girl not to talk much during this time and not to laugh, because her face will be old and wrinkled before her time if she does. And she tells the girl that for the ceremony and for four days after it she should not wash. She has pollen on, and if she should put her hand in water and wash it off, it would rain like anything. She tells the girl that if it rains and she goes out in it, that will make it rain harder. If the girl gets wet, it will be rainy and spoil the good time of the people. She must not even go to a spring or look up at the sky, for the rain clouds would gather if she did.[1] [821]

[868] [867]

And these old women talk to the girl about cooking and women's work too. They tell her to think what it means and to believe what the singer tells her, for, if she does not believe, it will not do her any good. And the girl is told to mind and not to make fun of anyone. She is told that she must not get angry or curse anyone till the ceremony is all over for her, till the eight days are over. For the Chiricahua believe that the disposition a girl shows at the time of the ceremony will be hers all through life. If she gets angry, she is going to be mean the rest of her life. They say, too, that if a girl doesn't mind at this time, bad weather comes. If she is pleasant and goes through the ceremony well, she will always be that way.

881 793 828

And it seems to me that it turns out this way. There's my wife. She went through the ceremony very well, obeyed, and was good. You take C.; she was mean and balky when she was going around that basket. Today she's very mean. My wife went through first, a year or so ahead of C. Then C. went

[1] One informant stated that the singer may not wash his hair during the rite, presumably to prevent rainfall. [533] [302]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache-NT8
Chiricahua
[facing P. 97]

PLATE IV

881
142
292
302
531

United States National Museum

GIRL DRESSED FOR PUBERTY RITE

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

> Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

cahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a *four* pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

headdress have been made with the big star. Against these diseases I use the sound of the Mountain Spirit rattling his headdress as he dances to the fire. By means of it I walk the earth. It drives all evil away. With it I perform this ceremony. With this I walk. That is all.

"They always start to paint the leader first. It doesn't matter who is finished first though." Helpers apply the paint with sticks which have been pounded, softened, and sometimes turned back at the end. Even the finger is used if the work has to proceed quickly. The helper, who has seen the masked dancers of this shaman perform many times and may have acted as dancer for the shaman himself, is usually familiar with the designs. What information he lacks is supplied by the shaman. Often masked dancers assist in painting each other.

Anyone can help the shaman paint the dancers. The shaman sits there and tells them what to do. Sometimes he paints too. When he has several men around, he will have everybody working on them. He will be singing and praying while they do it. I've never asked about this part. They start painting in the late afternoon. It takes some fellows longer than others. It doesn't make any difference whose masked dancers are first on the grounds below.

I painted masked dancers once. I was already painted myself and ready to go out. They were a little behind. I just went over and put the marks on one of the fellows to help out. I went ahead and did it while the shaman was there singing.

During the painting the shaman sings, beating a pottery drum with a curved drumstick. Should these songs not be sung in the right way, "the masked dancer would fall down like a man knocked out by a blow if he should touch another masked dancer down on the grounds." According to one masked-dancer shaman, his songs "call on the Mountain Spirits to give the dancers endurance," and so his dancers are able to "stay in there a long time."

These songs which accompany the painting of the dancers are sung as memory and convenience dictate. The allusions in them are to the themes associated with the ceremony, to the "holy home" where the ritual was learned from the resident Mountain Spirits, to the sounds made by the pendants of the headdress and kilt as the dancers trot to the fire, to the cardinal directions from which the Mountain Spirits guard the Chiricahua against all sickness and danger. The prayer or softly and quickly

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

one is present, spit into the masks four times, make three ritual feints toward themselves with the headdresses, and draw the masks over their heads the fourth time. Now they are ready to move in single file down the hillside, led by their most experienced dancer.

As they depart, they present a colorful spectacle. They wear high moccasins (with upturned toe) and buckskin skirts. These are colored yellow. The skirt is held in place by a broad belt; and from the skirt are suspended pendants of various kinds.[7] The arms and upper part of the body, with the exception of the face, are entirely covered with paint. Black, white, and yellow are most used; blue appears occasionally. The motifs most frequently employed are narrow bands of contrasting color, a branching design to stand for cactus, a saw-toothed element, a stepped line, a zigzag line, the triangle, the Greek cross, a pattée type cross, and a four-pointed star. These designs may remain the same all four nights, the same design may be used the first and third nights and another the second and fourth nights, or different designs may be painted each evening. Occasionally, the painted designs on the leader vary slightly from those of the others. The dancers carry painted wooden sticks in each hand; one or both of those carried by the leader may have a cross-piece at the handle. Long, narrow, buckskin streamers with eagle feathers attached are tied just above the elbows.

The mask is a buckskin hood which fits snugly over the head and is gathered at the neck by a drawstring. Two tiny holes for the eyes, and one sometimes cut at the mouth, are the only openings. These hoods are usually painted black but are also seen in yellow, in blue, or in two tones. When they are not a solid color, they may show such design elements as have been mentioned for the body. On the mask, at the forehead or nose

[7] Today, small cone-shaped jingles of tin have taken the place of these on the dance kilts, the dress made for the pubescent girl, and on other objects (awl cases, buckskin bags, burden baskets, etc.). To make these tin jingles, the metal is cut to proper size, placed over a depression in a board, and smartly struck at the median point. This curls the two sides, and it is then an easy matter to press them together with the fingers to form the cone, which is attached to the garment on a length of fringe.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

881 As a final gesture of appreciation toward
524 those who have helped make the social aspect of their ceremony
535 a success, the hosts "give a personal present to the women who
431 dance until sunup."

Conclusion.—The final events of the rite should take place in
881 the sun's rays and, if the sunrise is obscured by clouds, the people
533 wait patiently for the emergence of the first beams. As the east-
539 ern skies become lighter, twelve songs, familiarly known as
[821] "stop" songs, close another chapter of the ceremony. One of the last of these, heralding the appearance of the sun, simply repeats over and over:

> The sun, emerging,
> Says to me, "My grandchild."

The last of this series is a graceful apotheosis of the life-journey upon which the adolescent girl has embarked:

> You have started out on the good earth;
> You have started out with good moccasins;
> With moccasin strings of the rainbow, you have started out;
> With moccasin strings of the sun's rays, you have started out;
> In the midst of plenty you have started out.

Now the girl faces the east, kneeling on the hide. The space to the east of the ceremonial structure is cleared of all loiterers:

> They won't let anyone, even a dog, go across between the sun and the ceremonial structure on the last morning. They say that anyone who does this will get sick and die. I believe it. T.'s daughter didn't think and went across once just as the sun was coming up. She died soon afterward.

881 The sticks which have been erected around the fire pit during the singing are gathered up in clockwise direction, tied in a bundle, and deposited in the coiled basket tray containing the other ceremonial objects.

881 The singer faces the east with the basket before him and sings
533 four songs. Everything is taken out of the basket except white
793 clay. Then the singer faces the girl and puts pollen first on his
[788] own face and head and then on her head. Meanwhile the attendant has mixed water with the white clay in the basket. After
[302] another song, the singer paints a line of white and red on the girl's face. Again he turns to the east. He hands his rattle to a man who comes forward to assist him.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

He dips his right forefinger into the red paint, holds it up, and sings the "Red Paint Song." Using a splinter of wood to trace the rays, he draws a sun symbol on the palm of his left hand in pollen, red ocher, and specular iron ore. While he does this, he sings a song, "a long one because it takes a long time to put that design on":

881
533
793
788
[532]

Now I'll make long life of the sun's rays,
Now I'll make long life of the sun's pointed rays,
I'll make peaks extending outward.
The rays of the sun and long life are made of pollen,
The points of the sun and long life are made of pollen,
The points of the sun and long life are made of specular iron ore,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of specular iron ore,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of blue paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of blue paint,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of red paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of red paint,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of white paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of white paint.

[539]

The completed sun symbol is held up to the advancing shafts of light as the singer chants:

That which comes has come well out,
In here it has come.

[539]

Again the singer faces the girl. He touches the painted hand to her body at various places, circles her head clockwise with it, and finally obliterates the symbol by rubbing it over her head just as the rays of the sun shine upon her. At this time, too, the singer ties a piece of abalone shell or turquoise to the girl's forelock.

The eagle feather with which the girl has been led to the inclosure each of the four nights has been thrust into the bundle of grama grass. The singer uses the stems and the quill of this bundle as a brush to paint the girl with white clay. First he paints the right side and then the left side of her face, next her right arm below the elbow and her left arm, and finally her legs from the moccasin tops to the knees. This is a signal for the onlookers to press forward. With the materials left, the singer marks them on various parts of their bodies as they file past him.

881
533
793
[302]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The last run is made so that the girl will be strong, so that she will be a good runner and have a good heart [i.e., be brave]. Some used to run about a quarter of a mile to the east this last time. Because of this some girls became as good runners as men in the old days. If they have far to go, they do not have to run all the way. They can alternate between walking and running.

As the girl approaches the ceremonial structure for the last time, the attendant calls; the main poles are pushed to the east; and, as favors are tossed in the air and the children scramble for them, the girl makes her way to the encampment of her parents.

The temporary camps that have been established for the period of the rite begin to disappear. The poles of the ceremonial structure lie unmolested; they may not be used for firewood.

The girl's family stays on the grounds four days after the ceremony ends. During that time the girl can't wash and has to wear her costume. She must use the scratcher and reed for these four days too.

The girl has still another ritual duty to perform:

The little ceremony where the girl gives the horse takes place four days after the close of the big feast. A horse, any kind of a horse, is required. It always was so and has been handed down. She is still dressed in her costume. She walks the horse to the singer. That ends it. Her part is now over.

On the morning of the ninth day "before the sun comes up, the woman who cares for the girl [attendant] prepares yucca root and warm water and washes the girl's hair and entire body."

The prevailing tone of this ceremony is one of pleasure and promise. The physiological aspects of maturation are little emphasized. The behavior restrictions imposed upon the girl are not irksome, and their violation brings no really dire consequences. She is not isolated but achieves recognition as the central figure of a major social and ritual event during which she is likened to a supernatural being. Her formal introduction to adult status is accomplished in the midst of abundance, ritual safeguards, and festivity; therefore, she has little desire to return to the status which preceded the recognition accorded her..

Many heterogeneous elements combine to produce the girl's puberty rite. The singer, the attendant, the masked-dancer shaman, the dancers themselves, the musical accompanists for the social dance songs—all possess individual prerogatives which are not subject to call. The participation of these persons can

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Then he mixed weeds and white paint and put it over his body. He came back, and Bear said that he didn't smell him any more.

Then Bear told him to take a good rest. "Meanwhile I'll go over and hunt up your people."

He stayed at Bear's home four days. Four days later Bear got home again. He lay down. "I'm very tired," he said. "I found your people far away. Tomorrow we'll start out, and I'll take you to them."

The next morning the man started out with the father bear. They walked all day. About evening they came close to a mountain.

"Where do you want to stay?" Bear asked.

"In a hollow place," the man said.

"No," the bear told him. "It's better on top. It's warmer up there."

They went to the top and stayed there overnight. In the morning they started again. The next day toward sundown they went on top again. The next morning they started and walked all day. At night they went on top again. They carried dried beef with cooked fat and berries in it. The fourth morning they arose before sunup.

"Maybe we will find your people before noon," Bear said. "Then I'll go home."

About noon they found many Indian camps. Bear said, "There are your people. I'm going home now. After this if you or your children get lost, don't be afraid of Bear. Go to Bear's home." Then Bear went home, and the man went into his camp.

He found his wife and children cutting their hair off. In the old days they sometimes cut the hair short and sometimes cut it all off for mourning. They had killed all his horses and thrown away all the things he owned.

That bear had given him a ceremony with songs and prayers when he was in that cave. Then, when he got back to his people, he helped them when they got sick. When he healed sick people, he took a circular piece of rawhide, covered it with buckskin, and painted Bear, Lightning, and Buffalo on it. That was because Bear had told him that Lightning and Buffalo were his friends and their powers all worked together. He would make this for people and put a buckskin cord on it and later give it to them to wear.

Coyote, dog, wolf.—Details of a typical coyote ceremony have already been given[39] and need not be repeated here.

While sickness can be contracted from a dog, at least by a child, a coyote or wolf ceremony is thought sufficient to remove it. A certain amount of ceremonialism has grown up around dogs, but these usages are for the benefit of the dogs and not to cure ailments they have brought.

[39] See pp. 40–41.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

755 756 775

happen. Of the Chiricahua, R. is the only one now that knows the enemy-ghost ceremony."

775 765 789 756

Since the more usual type of ghost sickness results from persecution by the shade of a departed acquaintance or relative, the period immediately following a death is a trying one, and a preventive rite may be performed:

The Chiricahua, if someone dies, may call in a shaman to perform a ceremony. The day after the dead person is put away, this shaman will go through a ceremony for them. The members of the family of the dead person look ragged. They have put on their oldest clothes and cut their hair. The men and women of the family have taken a little hair off, but from the children they have taken all the hair off. They have burned up the clothes they wore before the death. They move camp in any direction and go anywhere. Perhaps other people sympathize with them and give them something. Then the shaman comes over and sings for these people. This is to keep the ghost away. He goes through the ceremony he knows. Some shamans paint the faces of the mourners red; some use white paint. Each shaman has his own way. [302] [302]

755 756

Most ghost ceremonies, however, are conducted to cure ghost sickness that has already been contracted. An owl shaman has supplied an interpretation of his own ceremony and an explanation of how he obtained it.

755 756 825

I cannot tell how my great-grandmother got this ceremony, but my grandmother got it from her. My grandmother cured many. She could only cure those who were sick from the owl or whom witches had made sick through the owl. Owl sickness just affects a person from the heart to the head. The Mexicans killed my grandmother a long time ago. I got the ceremony from a strong memory. I kept in mind what she did.

After my grandmother died, an owl nearly killed a little child. Other people knew that my grandmother had known about Owl. They guessed that I might have the power too. So a certain woman came to me for help and asked me to try this ceremony. I went to her home with her. I cured that child the same night. I found that the power of my grandmother wanted to work through me too.

755 756

Now I can pray and I am able to get sick people well. My power can be used only at night though. When I hold my ceremony, if it doesn't work after two nights, I give up, for something else is wrong. . . . Or perhaps a witch prevents the cure. Some witches have great power, sometimes more than I have. I can only try to help a person for two nights. Then I have to give them up. The person has to go to a more powerful shaman then, for some are more powerful than I am. I cure through song, prayer, and strong belief with the ceremony of the owl.

If an owl has scared a person into unconsciousness, someone comes for me,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

MAINTENANCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

HUNTING

224 462 IN THE securing of sufficient food the preoccupation of the man is properly with the hunt. "They think they are doing enough by going around hunting all day and getting food together." Except for participation in occasional rabbit surrounds, women are not encouraged to show concern for matters pertaining to the hunt. "Women never go out hunting because they aren't strong and able to get around," it was explained; but another comment suggests that the idea of appropriate male and female spheres is quite as important a consideration.

[152] The Chiricahua don't like to see a man go out hunting with a woman, whether they're married or not. It's considered a disgrace. One man used to do this. He was so jealous he didn't like to leave his wife alone. The Whitetail people saw him going out hunting with his wife, and they criticized him and laughed at him.

224 Since the deer is the most important game animal, a hunting trip, unless it is otherwise stated, may be assumed to have as its goal the securing of venison. Whether or not a specific ceremony 224 precedes the hunt, certain precautions are always observed:

262 784 There are two things you cannot do before you go hunting. One is to eat onions. The other is to chew osha [*Ligusticum porteri*]. The deer will smell you if you do. Suppose you are going hunting tomorrow morning. You can't eat them tonight then. You can't even dig them the day before you are going out to hunt. [252] But the Chiricahua eat onions with deer meat when they come back from the hunt. They use the onions raw while they are eating the meat or they boil the onions with the meat.

When you are going hunting you take care not to clean yourself up. Perhaps you have been eating the meat of some animal and therefore have been rubbing the grease and marrow of the long bones on your face, legs, and arms. You keep [302] this on. And you don't put anything else on yourself that may smell; nothing sweet-smelling like perfume [i.e., "Indian perfume," such as mint] can be used at this time.

224 261 785 Fasting immediately before the hunt aids the chances for success:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

727 [431] them there. He tells the women to help themselves. Sometimes he kills a cow or a horse for them. This is done mostly for women who have no men to take care of them. Sometimes the man will just throw out things to the people.

WAR FOR VENGEANCE

721 726 535 *The war dance.*—Despite the identical designs on the enemy's goods, the war party differs from the raiding expedition in preliminaries, personnel, and tenor:

> Only when they go out for revenge and fighting do they have the dancing beforehand. A relative who wishes a revenge party goes to the leaders and head men and asks them to use their influence to get one up. A large group would go, usually on foot. . . . .
>
> All big war parties are undertaken to avenge deaths. The relatives of the father of the dead person or of his wife will get it started and try to enlist as many as possible. If they are important people, it will be a big party. . . . . As many as volunteered would go. Relatives of the dead man would agitate for the party, and if there was a leader among them, he would be in charge of it.

726 535 The war dance is a dramatization of warfare itself and a pledge on the part of the individual warrior to participate in the action and to acquit himself bravely:

> All the leading men notified the others that they were going to have a war dance that night and that they were going after the enemy the next day. "Fierce dancing" is what they called this.
>
> All the Indians gathered that night. They didn't tell men that they must go. They don't say, "You must go, and you and you." These Chiricahua feel as men on their own. If things like war are going to happen, they themselves have to show they are manly. It is left up to the individual to decide.
>
> [534] They brought a hide. They had a drum there, a pot covered with buckskin. They went through the thing that has been handed down in tradition from the original time. They know how to go through the performance; it doesn't have to be told. Those who were going to dance put their moccasins on and made themselves just like fighting men in war. [302] They had long hair, so they tied it in place with a headband. Some who had long hair that came down the back tied it back there in the middle so it wouldn't get in the way. [291] The Chiricahua man wears a long and wide loincloth which comes down in front to a place just above the knee and further down in back, near to the ankle. For this dance they brought the back flap through the legs and the front one around too and tucked them into the belt. They don't have to do it if the ends are not in the way, but they want to make themselves as "free" as possible.
>
> What I saw was this. The upper parts of their legs were naked. The shirts of those who wore them flopped around. Some wore cartridge belts as bandoleers. Some carried guns.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The dance always starts with four men. Four men came from the east to the fire, just as the masked dancers do. They marched abreast in line, not one behind the other. They went around the fire four times like this. Then two got on the south side and two on the north. The singers and the hide that was being beaten were on the west. The four faced each other in two pairs. They danced in place. They danced toward each other, changed sides, turned around, and went back. They did this four times. Then the fun began. Then they sang and everyone shouted. The women from all over made that noise as they do in the big tepee. Now it was anyone's chance to dance who wished to. They didn't crowd forward at first though. 726 535

The other men were dressed just like those first four fellows. They don't paint their faces or decorate themselves especially for the war dance; they come in just plain. Now whoever wanted to dance got out there. They had guns. They put cartridges in. They shot. They said by their actions, "This is the way I'm going to act in the fight." They put cartridges between their fingers. Some put as many as they could in their mouths. [302] [411]

Some men did not dance. They signified their intention of going to war by coming out during the singing and marching around the fire once. It means, "I am going out."

The men doing the dance did not shout. They just made a noise softly under their breath, like, "Wah! Wah!" You can't shout in the war dance or in war. The belief that has been handed down is that, if you shout in battle, many of you will be killed. Those along the sides shout though. [201]

The dance went on. At every song a new set of men came in and the others went out and stood at the side. There were prayers going on over there. Everyone along the side was praying during the dance. When a principal man's name was called, he got out with his men. They get out in squads, sort of. [782]

When just a few were left who hadn't come out, a few fellows who had talked bravely when drinking tiswin, they were called on in the songs by name. All the rest had been dancing and had shown that they were going out. Then they called these last ones by name. They said in the song, "You, So-and-so, many times you have talked bravely. Now brave people at Casas Grandes (or Chihuahua) are calling to you." 726 535 577

If a person who is called like that doesn't come out and make good his boasts, he's considered no man at all. But few men would hold back when they were called like that. They come out the first thing when they hear their names.

When all who were going to the war had danced, every one of them got in there and they all went around the fire four times together, shooting as they went. Then it was all over. 726 535

This dance is also a profound religious experience for the man who takes part in it. "Some who had a spear, hat, and shield made for them through a ceremony danced with them," thus 726 535 782

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

726 [724] are clumsy and because when it gets warm the water gets a pitchy taste. Some might go on horseback and some on foot. Each man cooks for himself; each man eats what he has. If they capture horses from the enemy, each man ropes the best horse he can.

726 701 756 • 302 The leader or a shaman sometimes decorates the faces of the members of the group:

There is no special way of face-painting for all warriors. Some leader like Geronimo who has special power might decorate his men as his power directs him. Geronimo used to mark his men on the forehead, the sides of the face, and across the nose.[8] It was his own way though and not the way of all the Chiricahua.

726 702 868 Attached to the party sometimes are novices, though there is a tendency to encourage their attendance on the less hazardous raids instead:

Just the young boy, the novice who is fourteen or fifteen years old, takes a stick and reed for scratching himself and for drinking water. They have to use the sacred language while they are out. These boys have to use this kind of talk around camp too as long as they are novices. On the warpath or raid the men call the novice Child of the Water.

726 [756] On the journey the shaman's advice is a powerful influence in determining the decisions of the leader:

Any big war party will have a shaman along to tell them how to get success. He tells them whether to go to the open country or whether to keep back in the hills where the enemy are. They don't have to take any certain shaman along on a war party. There is sure to be some regular warrior along who has power.

Of the time and manner of attack on enemy camps, this account has been given: "We usually attack early in the morning. We are quiet when we go to attack. We fight in hand-to-hand action, and the individual can advance or retreat according to his chance and how the fight is going. In the battle the men obey the leader."

726 701 The role of the leader in the actual conflict is a central one:

Before the engagement each leader would talk to his group and encourage them. He would go before them in battle and perform great feats to spur them on. After the engagement he had to lead his men to safety and water.

[8] One informant gave a secular reason for the face-painting: "The white paint on the faces of Geronimo's men was to mark them in battle so they wouldn't kill their own men."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing P. 410]

PLATE XV

142
301
302
291
684

Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe

WOMAN WITH MUTILATED NOSE

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

painted sides of the other staves fall uppermost. If the long stave crosses the center of the rock, it counts one hundred; if it stays on the rock but is at either side of the center, it is worth but fifty. Of the other staves, the yellow one counts twelve points if the painted side shows, six if the unpainted surface is up. The others earn an agreed amount if the painted surfaces face upward, but score nothing if the plain surfaces show. This game can be played by men or women but, like the others, is most often played by the women.

More tradition, song, and ceremony center around the moccasin game than about any other form of adult recreation. It is the only game with which a major myth is connected; it was the game played in the beginning of the world at the Mogollon Mountains when the birds were pitted against the four-footed animals and monsters to determine whether there should be daylight. The manner in which the game is conducted now is intended to be a faithful duplication of that first contest.

The moccasin game is played only in the winter and only at night, until daybreak. If they play beyond daybreak, they have to paint their faces black. The story of the first moccasin game is told just at night and in winter. They say, "If you tell this story in summer, you will see bad animals like the rattlesnake." You have to be careful about the songs of the game too. You can't sing them in the summertime, for a snake will bite you if you do. In the wintertime you can sing them in the day or at night. In the winter there are no snakes around; that's why.

Even snow has a song in the moccasin game. The people don't like to hear the snow song before the real cold weather. It brings snow, they think. They got after me because I sang it the other day.

Men and women join to make an exciting occasion of the game. Arrangements for playing it are informal. "If I wanted to have that game tonight, I'd say to someone, 'Let's play the moccasin game tonight.' I'd get my friends, and he'd get his. Each man wants to have good singers."

To play the game the members of the two teams gather and face each other on opposite sides of a fire that has been kindled at a level place. Each of the groups arranges a row of four "moccasins" in which the bone is to be hidden. "We usually do not use real moccasins for this game but just make four holes. After

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The burial doesn't take very long, and they come away as soon as they can. They keep away from that place; it is not revisited. Just witches are seen fooling around graves.

It is the intention of the members of the burial party and of the close relatives of the deceased to alter so completely the situation with which their dead kinsman was associated that nothing will remind them of him, and nothing they have or do will draw his ghost to them. They destroy not only all his property and all the objects which he handled or used to any extent but also gifts which have come from him. The members of the burial party and any others who have come into contact with the corpse bathe carefully and burn or "roll up and hide in the woods" the clothes they have worn during their unpleasant task. Most often, too, "the others change their clothes. They don't want to wear what they had on when the person was living and when they were going around with him." Other precautions are taken:

Often after a death the person who has had contact with the body purifies himself by taking "ghost medicine," throwing it on a fire, making smoke from it, and sitting before the smoke with a robe. If the smoke is plentiful, no robe is needed. He then sits or stands where the smoke can get all over him—any way so the smoke goes all over. The hair is always washed after contact with the dead, and the clothes worn are burned or thrown away. Sometimes all the close relatives use the "ghost medicine."

In addition, there must be a further change in the appearance of the bereaved—the cutting of the hair:

The hair of men, women, and children is cut when a close relative dies. The hair is cut once, to about ear length, and then it is allowed to grow out again. It is done for a parent, a brother or a sister, or a husband or a wife. For a man, the wife and mother are sure to cut their hair. Some sisters do, some do not. It is seldom that cousins do it, and the relatives of a dead person's husband or wife do not do it at all. Some adults only cut the ends of the hair.

Camp life must be reconstructed in a new locality and on a different basis. "Following a death we move camp. The relatives don't want to live in the same place. It doesn't matter whether the person died in the home or not. It is destroyed anyway. Usually it is burned. And they do not go back around that old camp site much either."

Because the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

619 621 101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. [224] The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting on the plains [342] the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. [492] But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. [415] The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. [531] The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

291 184 An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, [177] and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. [302] The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. [302] His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

Not uncommonly the Mescalero women, too, wore leggings and braided (but did not wrap) her hair. The Chiricahua woman wore no leggings. Her hair was gathered at the back of the head, tied there, and covered with a decorated form of hour-glass shape. The Mescalero plucked the eyebrows, a practice which the Chiricahua never followed.

The tendency of the Mescalero to draw inspiration from the Plains is observable in many other aspects of the culture, particularly in the war complex. The round, rawhide shield was of more frequent occurrence among the Mescalero than among the Chiricahua. The Mescalero always made a designed buckskin cover for the shield, whereas the Chiricahua shield lacked a buckskin cover more often than not, the decoration being painted directly upon the rawhide. The trailing feather headdress is associated with Mescalero war practices but it is not to be found for the Chiricahua. The same differentiation may be observed for scalping. While the Mescalero warrior was by no means as interested in scalping as his Plains counterpart, he had distinctly more feeling for the practice than did the Chiricahua. Upon the return of a successful war party, it was an integral part of the celebration for the Mescalero fighters to relate the character of their exploits and for their fellow warriors to bear witness to their bravery and veracity. This usage was unknown to Chiricahua warfare.

It seems patent that the essential divergences between Chiricahua and Mescalero cultures can be defined in terms of the eastern position of the latter which made possible contact and association with the buffalo-hunting tribes of the southern plains. Even in matters ceremonial this criterion proves sound. The sole major variation between Mescalero and Chiricahua ritual life is that the Mescalero carried on peyote ceremonies and the Chiricahua did not. Since the greatest development of the peyote cults occurred among the Plains tribes and their immediate neighbors, this tribal difference can likewise be laid to geographical position.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[8]

8. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (20).